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## AMERICAN ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

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## THE SIXTEENTH OF JUNE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

We give to our readers in this issue the full report, taken from the London *Times*, of the debate in the House of Commons on the evening of June 16th, on Mr. Cremer's motion for a permanent treaty of arbitration with the United States. The debate itself will be worth many times as much as any comment which we might make on it, and we hope that every one into whose hands the *ADVOCATE* falls will read it through.

Mr. Cremer's motion represented the wishes of many millions of the English people. It was supported by more than two millions of petitioners. The London *Times* in its editorial next day said that it was certain beforehand that the motion would be favorably accepted by all parties in the House. The little objection that it found was nothing more than might have been expected from the quarter from which it came. Something of the old spirit still remains in England and elsewhere, and it will be a long time before it all disappears.

The *Westminster Gazette* styles Mr. Cremer's speech a "business-like, common-sense" one. Sir John Lubbock's address, on seconding the resolution, if we may judge from the report of it, must have been an admirable one, so full of fine sentiment, practical sense and stirring appeal to the better nature of his hearers. The Prime Minister's speech, said to have been delivered in his best style, was on the whole excellent, and will greatly help on the cause of Anglo-American fraternity. It was a disappointment to us in one or two respects, particularly in its disposition, quite disguised to be sure, to throw stones at the United States and its late Chief Magistrate. Throwing stones, even when it is clearly deserved, is not the way to help on the cause of peace. The part of Mr. Gladstone's speech which has been most praised on both sides of the Atlantic was the passage in which he urged moderation in making claims as the most efficient way of preserving peace. There is a volume of sense in that statement.

The difference between Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Cremer as to what the United States had done and the form which the motion should take was of no great importance, and Mr. Cremer and his friends readily acceded to the amended form of the resolution proposed by the Prime Minister, though much preferring the original motion. Mr. Gladstone was technically correct as to the resolution passed by the United States Congress in February, 1890, as given in his speech. This resolution was the out-

growth of the visit previously made to Washington by the delegation of two hundred and thirty-four members of the House of Commons bearing a memorial in behalf of arbitration. But it must be remembered, in support of Mr. Cremer's position, that in April of the same year the Pan-American Congress drew up its form of a twenty years treaty between the American Republics, in which it was provided that other nations as well might enter into the treaty. This form of treaty was sent to the European nations asking their consideration. So that, while the United States Congress has not, in so many words, instructed the President to negotiate permanent treaties of arbitration, the State Department at Washington has really invited foreign nations to form with us such treaties. The resolution of February is of such general import that there is little doubt that a permanent treaty can be negotiated by the President under its authorization.

If any further action is necessary on the part of our Congress to make the negotiation of such a treaty possible, there will be no difficulty in securing it. The people of the United States are certainly ready for it. When our State Department at Washington is officially informed of the unanimous vote in the House of Commons on the evening of June 16th, it will not be long, we are certain, until the next step is taken.

The 16th of June, 1893, is sure to be reckoned one of the great days in the progress of civilization. A unanimous resolution of cordial sympathy and readiness to coöperate with the United States in the way of treaties of arbitration—the Chancellor of the Exchequer was right in saying that no more important resolution could be placed on the journals of the House of Commons. The two great English-speaking nations now stand face to face, not with angry countenances and bristling bayonets, but challenging each other to take the next step toward an agreement which shall make internecine war between them forever an impossibility.

## FRANCE AND SIAM.

Another of those unfortunate conflicts between stronger and weaker races has just taken place in South-eastern Asia. As at other times, the weaker has found, or will find, itself compelled in this instance also to yield to the dictation of the stronger, without much regard to the real rights involved in the case.

France first came into conflict with Siam towards the middle of this century. The rulers of the country were fierce persecutors of the Roman Catholic missionaries who went thither from France. This led finally to a conflict between the two countries, developing into a four years' war from 1858–1862. As a result of this war the King of Anam ceded to France, which had already acquired by treaty in 1787 the peninsula of Tourane and two small adjacent islands, three of the provinces of Cochin China.

France thus made the protection of her missionaries in that country an excuse for aggression and for territorial extension. This she had no right to do, even if we grant that she was exercising a legitimate right in suppressing persecution of her citizens who had voluntarily exposed themselves in a heathen country.

In 1873 a new conflict was brought on, partly by some restless French adventurers who wished to push through to China and partly by the misconduct of the missionaries in stirring up a revolt against the King of Anam. This conflict cost the French dearly, but Anam was finally conquered. A new treaty took the place of that of 1862. In this the protectorate of France was continued and her entire sovereignty over the conquered territory recognized. The fact that no extension of territory was secured in this treaty greatly displeased Mr. Dupuis under whom the aggressions had been made. He went home and so complained of his supposed wrongs that the French Government appointed a commission to enquire into the matter. This commission reported in Mr. Dupuis' favor, influenced doubtless by the desire to try to make up for the disasters of the Tonquin expedition.

In 1881, as the outcome of the report of this Commission, the ill-fated Henri Rivière expedition was sent out by the Government of Jules Ferry. The swift disaster which came to this raised the cry of revenge in France. Ten thousand men were sent to the East as reinforcements. The fleet bombarded Hué, the capital of Anam, King Tu-Duc died of a broken heart, or by an evil hand, and his son sued for peace. This peace was secured at the cost of a heavy indemnity and the occupation of the forts of Hué until it was paid. This latter gave great umbrage to China which thought that Anam could not pay the indemnity, and that hence France would secure the whole territory of Anam, over which it now had an absolute protectorate. Anam was a vassal of China, which from the first had protested against the French aggression.

From 1884 to 1886 France seemed likely to be involved in a general war with China, and possibly with England. After various military operations in which, after many reverses, France was finally victorious, the war threatened to assume gigantic proportions. English interests were threatened and through the intervention of Lord Granville an armistice was agreed to. France had to give up the war indemnity, but she had gained undisputed control over Tonquin and Anam. In order to suppress the "Black Flags," as the hordes of barbarians on the frontiers were called, General De Courcy was sent out in 1885 with complete military authority over Anam. His arrival and conduct caused an insurrection throughout the whole country. There arose also at this time a fierce persecution of the native Christians, for having adopted the French religion, and no less than twenty-four thousand perished. On account of his blunders which led to this

insurrection and persecution, General De Courcy was replaced in 1886 by Paul Bert, Minister of Education in the Government of De Freycinet. Mr. Bert went out determined to reverse the policy of his predecessors, and in his brief governorship he did much for Anam and Tonquin. After his death in November and during the following year insurrections on the frontiers were numerous.

Nearly six years have passed and we now have another one of this deplorable series of events,—in this case between France and Siam. The difficulty seems to have arisen over a question of boundary between Anam and Siam. The French have claimed that the territory of Anam ought to extend to the Mekong River on the west. They have been aggressive in this direction and have been trying to take possession of the Mekong River and establish forts along it. Their relations with Siam have been strained for a long time. Five months ago the King of Siam offered to submit the differences to arbitration. This seems to have been declined and French aggressiveness has gone on. In the endeavor to push the boundary westward a French officer was killed. For this an indemnity of 3,000,000 francs was demanded. The French gunboats appear at the mouth of the Menam River. Some of these boats without orders or in violation of orders pass up the river, in violation of the treaty of 1856. They are fired on by the forts and a conflict ensues. In consequence an ultimatum is sent by the French to Siam demanding a large concession of territory and an indemnity of 2,000,000 francs. To this the King of Siam yields in great measure, in a reply which is both manly and pacific. But because it is not an unconditional yielding of all that is demanded by France, a blockade is to be commenced and hostilities opened. If the facts are as reported, the whole civilized world is right in crying shame on the wicked aggressiveness of France. She cannot excuse herself because England and other countries have been as wicked under like circumstances.

At the present writing there is great commotion in Europe, especially in England whose possessions join Siam on the west and north and much of whose commerce finds an outlet down the rivers of Siam. May the God of peace stay the selfish passions of men and prevent the outbreak of a great and cruel war.

#### PROGRAM OF THE CHICAGO PEACE CONGRESS.

The Peace Congress at Chicago will open on Monday, August 14th. The day will be spent in registration and other preliminaries. Delegates will receive membership cards and badges on arrival. The headquarters of the Congress will be in one of the small halls of the Memorial Art Palace on the lake front at the foot of Adams street. The meetings of the Congress will be for the most part in one of the large auditoriums of the Art